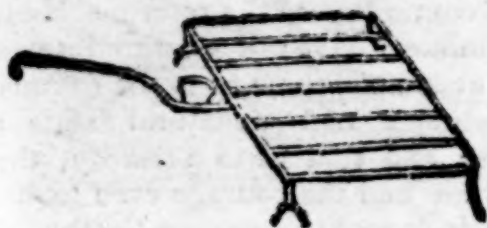


# COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

Vol. 82.—No. 9.]

LONDON, SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 30TH, 1833.

[Price 1s. 2d.]



## LETTER III. TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

London, November 28, 1833.

Sir,—By Captain Gaiswold, of the ship *SAMUEL ROBERTSON*, I did myself the honour to send you, a few days ago, the following books:

1. The report (as published by order of the House of Commons) of the Select Committee appointed to inquire into the state of agriculture, and of the persons employed therein; which committee sat during three months of the last session of Parliament.
2. My book, entitled "*PAPER AGAINST GOLD*," which was written and published while I was in the prison of NEWGATE in 1810 and 1811, for having expressed my indignation at the flogging of local-militiamen, at the town of ELY, in England, under a guard of German bayonets; and if Mr ASBURY DICKINS be still alive and at WASHINGTON, as I hope he is, he will remember that, the very next day after my imprisonment, he, talking with me of the mode of obtaining satisfaction for this monstrous wrong, heard me say, "DICKINS, I have no physical means of obtaining that satisfaction: I must not kill myself by giving way to rage; but betake myself to the pen, and patiently wait for the plea-

[Printed by W. Cobbett, Johnson's-court.]

"sure of time. I must now set seriously to work, give my blows carefully, but effectually, and we will laugh, my boy, while the monster is reeling along, not knowing what is the matter with it. Our teacher has said, that paper money is strength in the beginning and weakness in the end. Look here, at this report (I had the *bullion committee's* report lying upon the table), and you will see that the haughty vagabonds are but idiots, after all." This was the beginning of this elaborate work, which I called "*PAPER AGAINST GOLD; or, the History and Mystery of Paper-money and the Bank of England*." I now send you. You will know that many of its anticipations have already been accomplished, and that all its principles have received the indelible stamp of subsequent experience.

3. The "*Curse of Paper Money and Banking*." A republication of GOUGE'S PHILADELPHIA pamphlet, with an Introduction by myself, and a Dedication to the Speaker of the House of Commons.
4. Three Letters from me to the Honourable JOHN STUART WORTLEY, showing the monstrous injustice of taxing the people to pay the usurers at the present rate.
5. Letters by JOHN FIELDEN, Member of Parliament for the Borough of OLDHAM, on the immense Mischiefs of Paper Money, with regard to the Manufacturing Part of the Community.
6. "*FLASH IN THE PAN*;" or, an account of the Transactions in the House of Commons relative to my Proposition against Sir ROBERT PEEL, during the last Session of Parliament.
7. My proposed report of the Select Committee, appointed during the

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last Session of Parliament, to inquire into the doings of POPAY, the Spy, and into the Spy system generally.

8. The two letters which I did myself the honour to address to yourself, the first of which was dated on 31. of October, and the second on the 14. of November of this present year.

On each of these I shall here offer you some reasons which I hope will induce you to read them all. From our newspapers and other periodical publications, you can gain no real information. There are some few exceptions with regard to the weekly newspapers of London; and, perhaps, there may be five or six newspapers published in the country, which ought to be included in the exception: but these do not form a sixtieth part of the whole of that mass, which is called the ENGLISH PRESS, from which, generally speaking, little besides falsehood is to be obtained. The far greater part of this press is either under the immediate influence of persons in power, or of those aspiring to power; or, like a large part of your press, under the discounting power of the paper-money people.

I have not addressed you, sir, in manuscript, nor in my capacity of Member of Parliament, but merely as the writer of a public journal. As such I beseech your attention to the foregoing books and papers. With regard to the report of the Select Committee, I beg you to have the patience, if you possibly can, to go through the whole of the *evidence*, which will show you what this committee was told by the farmers and others who were brought before it. You will perceive that these extraordinary facts are established beyond all question: FIRST, that the land is become less productive in consequence of a want of its former good cultivation: SECOND, that there is a great want of employment for the agricultural labourers: THIRD, that whole parishes are lying uncultivated, on account of the burden of the poor-rates: FOURTH, that these poor-rates are so enormously high, because

there are so many labourers out of work.

There, sir; look at those facts: please to remember that this is in *England*; and please to remember, that a select committee of the reformed House of Commons have not ventured to express even an *opinion* as to the *causes* of this strange and unnatural state of things; and that as to a *remedy*, they have not had the courage even to hint that it is proper to entertain the thought of a remedy. And so much for this famous report, made by thirty-seven men, chiefly consisting of noblemen, baronets, and gentlemen, great owners of the land of England.

For "*Paper against Gold*," I, being the author, should be loath to call for any great portion of your attention; but it really is the only true history of the workings of the paper system in England; and it exposes the rogueries and the follies of its supporters and carriers on, in the fullest and most complete manner. It was intended for the immediate purpose of exposing the folly of the bullion committee of 1810. It strips the lion's skin off from HUSKISSON, HORNER, TIERNEY, CANNING, and all the whole crew, who have been so long living on the life's blood of the country, while complimenting each other on account of their *wisdom*. If you can bestow the time to read this little book, you will want nothing to explain all our subsequent blunderings about it. I beg you particularly to look at the 25. letter of *Paper against Gold*; and, when you have read that letter, I think you will be satisfied that this great kingdom owes a considerable part of its present troubles and calamities to a desire, on the part of the rulers of that day, *to thwart a private individual like me*.

The "*Curse of Paper Money and Banking*," being the republication of an American work, you have, doubtless, read; but you cannot have read my introduction to that work, and particularly my dedication to the Speaker of the House of Commons. That dedication, consisting of one complete sentence, divided into several members, describes with great



accuracy the progress of the financial confusion of England. It reminds the speaker of the several measures of which he had been a witness; of the successive monstrous absurdities, promulgated and adopted by the assembly over which he had presided. The republication of this book has done, and must continue to do, great good in England; because it contains the unquestionable truth of the curse of paper-money, of the enormous mischiefs it is capable of doing, even in a country which is comparatively untaxed. The price of this book puts it beyond the reach of men who work for their bread; but it has been, and will be, read by many of those who have something to say in the making of the laws. You will perceive that the agricultural committee observe on the gradual annihilation of the little gentry, and the yeomanry of England. In this book it is shown how the usurers *strip the American farmers of their farms*; how they have turned out the ancient proprietors of lands of nearly whole counties at once, merely by the shuffling of little bits of paper. They are doing exactly the same thing here, only by more slow and imperceptible degrees, having so many entails and unalienable tenures coming in their way.

My three letters to the Hon. JOHN STUART WORTLEY, you will find to go over the whole ground of the subject, that is quaintly denominated "NATIONAL FAITH;" and you will find from the same letters, that the grand question upon which the fate of this Government turns, is, *whether the interest of this debt shall or shall not be reduced?* If the Ministry and the Parliament have the courage to make an equitable adjustment of the whole affair, and of all contracts between man and man upon the same scale, all will soon be put to rights, amongst a people so little disposed to haste in their proceedings, so accustomed to weigh every thing scrupulously in the scales of justice, and according to the rules of settled law; so fair and open in their dealings; so firm to their word; so skilful in all sorts of labour, and so

indefatigable in the application of that skill; so accustomed to be content with the enjoyment of the fruits of their own property or labour, and to whose minds and hearts vindictiveness and cruelty are utter strangers. But, sir, with all these advantages of character in the people; with all the almost boundless natural resources of the kingdom; with all its various blessings attendant on its geographical situation; with all these, my fixed opinion is, that this form of government, venerated as it has been, for so many ages, will not stand for many years, unless the King's servants and the Parliament have the resolution now to come to a determination to make an adjustment with regard to this debt and paper money, and to all the contracts between man and man.

Mr. FIELDEN's Letters on the Mischiefs of Paper Money and Banking are particularly worthy of your attention. Mr. FIELDEN and his brothers, in one partnership, are said to manufacture one hundredth part of all the raw cotton that is imported into England. On this score, therefore, he is entitled to great attention. That he is a man of great integrity would be, I hope, nothing to point him out as singular amongst the great number of persons engaged in the same pursuit; but, in point of talent, and extent of understanding, and depth of reflection, and in his acuteness in discovering causes, and aptness in pointing out effects, he is a rare man in every rank of life. You will see, sir, that he regards paper money not only as not necessary to the carrying on of manufactures on an immense scale; but, that he regards it as mischievous to the carrying on of manufactures; and that he clearly traces to it, the ruin of thousands of employers and the oppression of millions of working people. This collection of letters, I, therefore, beg leave to recommend to your particular attention, as belonging immediately to the great evil which you have now undertaken to repress; and as affording facts and arguments the most powerful in support of the principles that you have determined to act upon.

"Flash in the Pan" is worthy of

your attention, as something very clearly showing the hostility which both parties have to the thought of ever making ministerial responsibility a *practical* thing; as showing, that the word *responsibility*, as applied to them, is intended to be mere sound, and to have no meaning in it; that it is intended to amuse the people, and to make them believe, that they can, when they please, call the Ministers to account, through the means of their representatives. I was well aware of this, before I brought forward the RESOLUTION, my notice to do which, Sir ROBERT PEEL called a "*flash in the pan*." But I was determined to bring forward, in a tangible shape, my charge against the author of the bill of 1819, which had done more mischief than any other fifty measures which had been adopted in my recollection. In this present number of my *Register*, I republish the resolution, Sir ROBERT PEEL's speech, and an account of the curious (not to give it a harsh epithet) conduct of Lord ALTHORP, and of the Speaker. With regard to the speech by which I introduced the motion, and supported it, and the speech of my excellent colleague who seconded me, in a most able manner, I leave these out in this republication, my object being to show, and to keep in the minds of the people, the conduct of Lord ALTHORP on that occasion. As to Sir ROBERT PEEL, his anger was natural enough, though his manner of seeking to gratify that anger was not such as any man of good taste and of justice will approve of. No man could deny the truth of any fact stated in the resolution; no man could charge either the RESOLUTION, or my speech by which it was preceded, with any indecorum, or with any want of personal respect towards the privy-councillor against whom the resolution was directed. There was, therefore, no ground whatever for the gross aspersions and foul insinuations contained in the speech of Sir ROBERT PEEL. There was fair ground enough for him to proceed upon, without resorting to these unjustifiable effusions of resentment.

But, if his conduct was not justifi-

able, what will you think of that of Lord ALTHORP, who proposed to violate, and actually did produce a violation of, rules of the House, established for centuries. Mine was an original motion; it ought to have been put upon the minutes of the proceedings of the House; it was introduced by a notice in due order; it was regularly made according to the notice; it was, in law, as I may say, on the minutes of the proceedings; it was recorded; and it could not be taken from the record, without a *vote of the House to that express amount*; and that vote could not be come to, without a motion made for that express purpose; and that motion could not be made, according to the present rules of the House, without a *notice of the motion, given one day before the making of it at the least*. In this manner it might have been "*EXPUNGED*." But, instead of all this, the moment Sir ROBERT PEEL had finished what he called his defence, up got the Minister, up got the Chancellor of the Exchequer, up got the man who has the management of fifty millions of pounds a year, drawn from this people; and, without notice, moved, not any amendment to the resolution; not the order of the day; not the previous question, but made the original motion at once, *that this resolution be not inserted in the minutes of our proceedings*." This was his motion; but the Speaker put a different question. Instead of putting the question, "*that this resolution be not inserted in the minutes*," he put this question, "*that this resolution BE EXPUNGED from the minutes!*" So that it is the Speaker's motion, after all.

For my part, sir, nothing puts me out of temper, especially of the violent kind, and especially when I know that I am in the right, and that my opponents are stung; and I do not recollect that I ever met with any thing to please me more than the uproarious opposition that I met with during that evening. The truth is, that it was thought, and even *said* (not by gentlemen *belonging to the House*, of course), "*that the best way was, to join and to crush him at once*." I happened to hear



of this having been said at the Chapter Coffee House in the city, or somewhere or another, a fortnight or more before the discussion came on; and, having this in my mind, and knowing how deceived the crushers in *the city* would be (this city is a sad place, sir), I was laughing amidst the marks of disapprobation of four hundred men, apparently convulsed down to their toes with anger. Some of the politicians in the city had, I heard, recommended the letting of me die a natural death, to sink down out of sight by my own lumpishness, remarking, that they had always observed the greater the fury with which I was attacked, the more resolute, persevering and damnable, I became; that I was a sort of political salamander, most lively and energetic amidst the flaming fury that surrounded me. The two parties at the Chapter Coffee House did, however, by a great majority, determine, to "damn him, and crush him at once."

However, sir, these circumstances are all insignificant, when compared with the breach of the rules of Parliament which here took place: for, sir, what was established by the proceedings of that evening?

1. That a member, if he have a majority with him, may make an original motion without notice.
2. That the Speaker may change a motion made, for another motion of his own.
3. That by a vote of the House, any motion, made by a member who has a majority against him, may be prevented from being entered on the minutes of the proceedings of the House.

These three propositions stand recognised in the proceedings of the House of that night; and this extraordinary innovation took place, in consequence of a resolution being tendered to the House, which resolution contained a string of well-known truths, and concluded with a proposition in accordance with the constitution of the country, with a hundred legal precedents, and with all the usages of Parliament for four hundred years. I, for my part,

harbour no resentment; mine was a great personal triumph, if I had cared a straw about such triumph, and in that light it was viewed from one end of the country to the other. I bear no resentment against Lord ALTHORP, any more than I should against a jackdaw that had chattered in my ear; for he, if he had the inclination, has no more power to harm me, nor to detract from my character, than a jackdaw has; but, it is right and just, that this nation, and that America, should know, and should remember, his conduct upon this occasion; and, therefore, I repeat my account of it in this letter to you, and in another part of this *Register*.

But, sir, after all, my great object in sending you this "*Flash in the Pan*" is, that you may see, that even Sir ROBERT PEEL himself had nothing to say in defence of his measure; and I do assure you, that the subject must be a pretty barren one, on which the right honourable Baronet could find a pretty deal to say. You will also perceive, that, in justification of himself, he said nothing; that all that he did in that respect amounted to nothing more than *excuse* and *apology*, and that even here the total amount was, that he had plenty of associates in the affair. But, in defence of his measure he uttered, as you will see, not one single word. This is the interesting part of the matter; that my resolution did not censure the measure, merely on account of what it did, but on account of what it did *not* do. And this was the grand point; at that point we still are; and, whether there will be resolution enough in the King's servants and the Parliament to get over that point, is the grand question upon the decision of which the fate of this Government turns.

POPAY the spy and the spy system will be clearly understood by you, when you have read that pamphlet. It is a copy of the report which I, as a member of the committee, proposed to be presented to the House. The majority of the committee did not think so elaborate an analysis of the evidence necessary to be laid before the House. A short report was, therefore, agreed to

by the majority, expressing, however, disapprobation with regard to the conduct of the spy, but drawn up in general terms, and without going into detail. In the report which I drew up, I endeavoured to lay before the House a complete analysis and summary of the whole of the proceedings; and, as the public were extremely anxious to know what had been the result of the inquiry, I published this intended report, the bulky volume containing the evidence being beyond the reach of men in general, even if it had been reprinted. This report I now send to you; and you will want nothing further to convince you, that a system of usury, such as we now have, and English liberty and law, cannot coexist.

It is impossible for fifty millions of taxes to be collected in any country upon earth, without a thundering standing army and a Bourbon police. It is a great mistake to suppose, that the aristocracy of this country love the army and the Bourbon police for their own sakes; that the love is purely, politically platonic: not so: they want the army and the police, because without them the taxes cannot be collected. There may be here and there a half-Germanized fellow amongst them, who looks upon the working people as mere cattle, made to work for him. But the far greater part of them have a very different view of the matter, and would be very glad to see the country brought back to what it was fifty years ago. Those of them that are not mere boys, can recollect when their fathers' country mansions did not stand in need of watchmen to be placed round them in the night; and it is impossible that they can feel satisfaction at the change. But, the worst of it is, they insist upon it, that the *people are changed*. Well, admit this; but why not look into the *cause of that change*, then? Oh, no! that would imply that somebody else has been in fault; and then they speedily discover a fact which they have not the courage to avow; namely, that the fault has been with those who have had the making of the laws, the imposing of the taxes, and the spending

of the money. And thus they go on, month after month, and session of Parliament after session of Parliament, always afraid to trace the danger back to its source.

Had it not been for the paper money, this danger never could have existed: it is that instrument in the hands of Satan, with his two hands full, one of monopolizing Quakers and the other of blaspheming Jews, and these working with loans and stock and scrip and bonuses and contracts and contrivances of all sorts, which have, at length, established a system which enables the idle and worthless to roll in wealth and luxury, while the honest and industrious are starving in a land of plenty.

That this is our state, we all well know; that your efforts may rescue America from a similar fate, is the very sincere prayer of,

Sir,

Your most obedient  
and most humble servant,  
WM. COBBETT.

## RURAL WAR.

### FIRES,

*In Northamptonshire, Norfolk, Suffolk,  
Hampshire, and Wiltshire.*

I shall first insert from the public papers the articles which I find in them relative to this very awful subject, which must be brought before the Parliament, and must produce a remedy, or these transactions must lead to a dreadful breaking up of Government. When I have inserted the intelligence, which has come across me by mere accident, as to the particulars, I not having had an opportunity, probably, of seeing an account of a twentieth part of the fires that have taken place. When I have done this, I shall endeavour, once more, to rouse the attention of Ministers to this matter, and to press upon them and the Parliament the absolute necessity of applying a remedy without delay.



The following are the pieces of intelligence taken from the several newspapers mentioned.

On Monday night a woman was passing by the farming premises of Mr. R. Rix, at Wymondham, when she saw a blaze, and two men in the stack-yard, who immediately ran away. She alarmed Mr. Rix's family, and in the meantime the adjoining premises of Messrs. Spruce and Miller were found to be on fire. The barns, stables, and out-buildings, with several stacks of hay and corn, standing in the stack-yards, were all consumed. Mr. Spruce had a wagon, and a load of corn in sacks, which was ready to start off to Norwich in the morning, entirely consumed. By great exertions the dwelling-house on each farm was saved, and the flames on Mr. Rix's place were confined to five stacks, which were reduced to ashes. There were twelve stacks in all consumed, and Mr. Miller is not insured for more than half the amount of the property destroyed. There had been some recent alteration in the regulation for the poor, and the working people are supposed to have been offended at the introduction of three policemen into the town.—*Norfolk Chronicle*.

On Saturday night last a fire broke out in a straw shed on the premises of Mr. Mayes, of Coltishall, which was burnt down, and, but for the exertions of the neighbours, two stacks near the spot would have been consumed. Two men are in custody on suspicion. On the same evening a fire broke out in the cottage on Hoveton Common, inhabited by a poor old man, who was in bed at the time; and it was with great difficulty that he was removed before the flames reached his bed. The cottage and part of his furniture, together with his donkey, were destroyed. It is suspected to be the work of some cruel incendiary.—*Norfolk Chronicle*.

On Monday evening last, about half-past eight, as Mr. Addison, farmer, of Rickinghall, near Botesdale, was looking round his premises, he observed a straw stack in his stack-yard kindling into a flame, as though it had just been set on fire. Of course he used every effort in his power to extinguish it, but in vain. The flames rapidly ascended, and in a short time spread around to other stacks (of corn and hay), the barn, stable, sheds, and outbuildings, the whole of which, with nearly all the agricultural implements and a poor donkey, were destroyed. In the barn were about 100 coombs of thrashed barley in the chaff, and twenty coombs of beans in sacks. The dwelling-house alone remained amidst the smouldering ashes. The farming stock, we are sorry to learn, was not insured. About fifty years since the buildings on this farm, which belongs to a gentleman in London, were accidentally burnt down.—*Suffolk Chronicle*.

On Sunday morning last a fire, attended with most destructive consequences, broke

out in the stack-yard of Mr. W. Levi, at Moulsoe-buildings, near Newport; it was first discovered in the machine-house adjoining the barn and yard, and such was the rapidity with which it spread that before six o'clock the barn and other buildings, and seventeen ricks and hovels of corn and hay, the produce of a highly cultivated farm of 300 acres, were destroyed. There appears to be no exciting cause for this diabolical act, Mr. Levi being very liberal in the employment and payment of his neighbours. He had, however, erected a thrashing-machine on his premises. A reward of 500*l.* is offered for the apprehension and conviction of the incendiaries.—*Northampton Herald*.

Two hundred pounds reward (100*l.* by the Government and 100*l.* by the County Fire Office) have been offered for the apprehension of the incendiary who fired Messrs. C. and S. Armstrong's barns and buildings, at Wootton, Beds, on the 27. ult.—*Northampton Mercury*.

The Duke of Bedford has offered a reward of 100*l.* for the discovery of the incendiaries who fired the rick of straw belonging to Mr. Platt, of Liddington, on the 30. ult.—*Ibid*.

The property of Mr. Merritt, of Wallington, was last night placed in great hazard by an incendiary. A stack of old hay, about eleven tons, was discovered blazing, and, as it was surrounded by five or six others, and contiguous to the farm buildings, nothing but the great exertions of the inhabitants of Fareham, with their parish engine, saved the property. Mr. Merritt mixes little with the world, and never in parish matters, and is remarked for charity and benevolence.—*Hampshire Telegraph*.

Tuesday night week a fire broke out in the stack-yard of Mr. Brigham, of Wretham, near Diss. When seen, the flames were issuing from different stacks. The stacks comprised a long barley stack, a bean, a trefoil, a seed, and three hay stacks, which were entirely consumed. Owing to the denseness of the fog, the fire could not be seen at a distance; but as soon as the labourers had time to assemble, they afforded the most prompt assistance, and by their exertions the fire was prevented from extending to four other stacks and the outbuildings.—*Norwich Mercury*.

On Saturday evening, a little before nine o'clock, a very large heap of straw, standing in the farm yard of Mr. R. H. Stares, in the parish of Droxford, was discovered to be on fire. The straw had been collected from the thrashing-machine, which had been at work the two preceding days, and placed in the yard, surrounded by the extensive farm buildings and several ricks, containing a large portion of the produce of this and the preceding year. The fire was first observed issuing from the top of the heap, apparently immediately after being set fire to. No sooner was the alarm given than the villagers hastened to the spot, and by their strenuous and well-directed efforts, favoured by a calm evening, they pre-



served the stock and buildings from destruction. A reward for the apprehension of the offender has been offered by Mr. Stares and other inhabitants of Droxford, and also by the Lords of the Treasury, accompanied by an offer of free pardon to any accomplice making a discovery. A threatening communication has since been received by Mr. Stares, intimating that although the intended mischief has for the present been averted, very little time will elapse before the purpose of the incendiaries shall be fully accomplished.

**One Hundred Pounds Reward.**—Whereas about nine o'clock in the evening of Saturday, the 16. day of November instant, a straw rick, in the rick-yard of Mr. Robert Hatch Stares, of Droxford, in the county of Hants, was wilfully and maliciously set on fire by some evil-disposed person or persons unknown, whereby the same was destroyed. For the better apprehending and bringing to justice the persons concerned in the felony before mentioned, his Majesty has been pleased to offer his most gracious pardon to any one of them (except the person who actually set fire to the said straw rick) who shall discover his accomplice or accomplices therein, so that he, she, or they may be apprehended and convicted thereof. And as a further encouragement, the Lords of the Treasury have been pleased to offer a reward of 50*l.* to any person (except as aforesaid) who shall discover the said offender or offenders, so that he, she, or they may be apprehended and convicted for the said offence. And a further reward of 50*l.* is hereby offered by the directors of the Hants, Sussex, and Dorset Fire Office.

DAVID COMPIGNE, Secretary.

*Gosport, Nov. 19, 1833.*

In addition to the above, a further sum of 200*l.* is offered, on behalf of Mr. Stares, being a subscription by the inhabitants of Droxford, making a total reward of 300*l.* for such information as may lead to a conviction of the offender or offenders.

*Droxford, Nov. 23, 1833.*

On Saturday some labourers residing, it is said, at Urchfont, Wilts, had the temerity to set fire to another barley rick, the produce of about twelve acres, the property of Mr. Butler; and while the flames were raging, several inhabitants of the village gave evident symptoms of the delight they took in the scene; and early on Sunday morning actually danced in triumph around the expiring embers! About a load of the barley had by great exertions, been preserved from the fire, and was placed a short distance from where it formerly stood; and it is a fact, that while the better portion of the parish were engaged in their devotion on the Sunday forenoon, an attempt was again made to consign this remaining part of the rick to the flames. Perceiving, however, that they were observed,

the wretches went off without accomplishing their diabolical purpose.

An alarm of fire was given early on Sunday evening, and it proved to be at some stalls belonging to Ambrose Goddard, Esq., in the occupation of Mr. Joseph New. The stalls were entirely consumed, and the fire had reached a small barn adjoining, but by the timely arrival of the engine, and the great exertions made by those who repaired to the spot, that building was preserved with no other damage than the destruction of the thatch. A wheat rick which stood near it, was saved by being taken to pieces, and carried to a distant part, and some farm buildings were also saved, but the object of the incendiary appears to have been the destruction of the whole property, as the fire was kindled in several places.

Four men are in custody at Devizes, on suspicion of having set fire to the premises of J. T. Compton, Esq., at Urchfont, last September. The magistrates of the Devizes and Melksham divisions have been busily engaged in examining evidence, but nothing has been discovered to bring the crime home to the guilty perpetrators.—*Hampshire Chronicle.*

On Monday morning last a number of the labourers at Sutton Courtenay, in this county, determined no longer to work for 8*s.* per week, to which their wages had two or three weeks previously been reduced, started off together, and compelled the carters to leave their ploughs, the shepherds their flocks, the taskers the flail, and the breakers of stones or spreaders of gravel their laborious but less profitable avocations, and repair with them to the seat of justice—the magistrates' meeting at Abingdon. Here they complained of a breach of faith in the farmers, their employers, who had advanced their wages to 9*s.* per week in 1830, and had now reduced them to 8*s.* The magistrates very wisely requested them to go home and endeavour to arrange the difference with their masters, they not being there to answer the charge brought against them; and that if it should be necessary to come again on that day fortnight, the next magistrates' meeting, and they (the magistrates) would send a letter to the overseers of Sutton on this subject. The complainants agreed to this arrangement, and we are happy to hear that all of them have returned to their work.

It appears that the assize of bread in January, 1831, was twenty pence per gallon, and now it is fourteen pence halfpenny, and therefore the farmers at Sutton have not made more difference in the wages than absolutely exists in the price of provisions; but whether it is policy, for the trifling economy such a reduction will occasion, to hazard the dissatisfaction such a measure is calculated to occasion in a body of the people more generally under the control of their passions, rather than their reasons, is more than we can assert. We call the economy trifling, for we know several instances in which farmers have refused their consent to proposed reductions in the wages



on this very ground; for if the labourers do not receive wages sufficient to maintain their families, the deficiency must be made up from the poor-rates. Mr. Owen, of Hodcott farm, who occupies a great tract of land, it is said, has calculated that the reduction of one shilling per week, the contemplated reduction in his parish, would not make more than six shillings per week difference to him. Mr. John Munday, of Culham, continues to give ten shillings per week for his labour, although the whole of the other farmers in that parish have reduced their wages to eight shillings per week. Some farmers allow that it would be more in accordance with their better feeling to advance rather than depreciate the price of labour, but say they cannot afford it at the price of agricultural produce, and they also complain that they were led to expect at the time of advance, three years ago, that the increased charge on their labour should be deducted from their rent; but that has not been the case. On the other hand, many gentlemen have, during the last three years, given a bonus of 10 or 15 per cent. on their respective rent days, for the very purpose of meeting this increased charge, and to add to the comforts of the poor; and these latter gentlemen are not at all satisfied with the reduction of wages which in many places has taken place. We conclude this article with hoping that something will speedily turn up to render the farmer more prosperous, and the labourer more contented and happy.—*Berkshire Chronicle*.

It is impossible to read these accounts without seeing clearly, that it is a battle about wages. We always find that there has been a dispute about the wages, and that the labourers have been beaten *in the dispute*. In some cases we find that *thrashing-machines* have been at work; but at WYMONDHAM, in Norfolk, we find the supposed cause to be, the INTRODUCTION OF THREE POLICEMEN INTO THE TOWN; the writer says, "*that this is supposed to have offended the people.*" I will not say what I think about this; I will not say what I *wish* relative to it; I will not say what I expect will take place in such cases; I will not say any thing at all about my feelings in this case; I have a right to wish and to feel as I like about it, and I do so wish and feel, and I will not say what, or how.

STARES at DROXFORD, I happen to know, and that is all that I shall say about him, and about thrashing-machines and his fire and his threatening letter.

"The dancing round the embers," at URCHFONT, in Wiltshire, is a curious fact, and is mightily well contrasted with the compliments paid to the "*villagers*," who, we are told, have been every where so zealous in extinguishing fires. These dancers, I suppose, were "*peasantry*;" good old Bourbon peasantry, now and then sent to the galleys for life, for breaking a partridge's egg. Well, if we get from "*peasantry*" to "*villagers*," we shall soon do well enough.

At SUTTON COURTNEY the "*villagers*" went, it appears, to the magistrates, to give them notice of the recommencement of hostilities, the ground of which was, the reducing of their wages from nine shillings to eight. The magistrates had no more power to cause a rise in their wages from eight to nine, than those of Surrey have to make my son lower his wages from fifteen to twelve, which latter is the common wages of the county. But, if a common Surrey farmer, nearly forty miles from London, can give twelve shillings a week, which they all do, how is it that a Berkshire farmer cannot afford to give more than eight? I should like to have an answer to this question. But then, my God! only think of a man, his wife, and family, living upon eight shillings a week! And then, what do the single men get? Perhaps three or four. Nay, Mr. MERTHUN, one of the members for North Wilts, said that the single man got but half-a-crown. He said this in his place in the House of Commons; and very great honour the statement did him. It is nonsense to talk of peace in the country, while this is the case. Generally speaking, it is the fault of neither farmers, landlords, nor magistrates: it is all ascribable to the burdens which they have to bear; and those burdens they must get rid of, or they may as well bid adieu to their estates at once.

## CORN BILL.

HERE follow two letters on the subject of the Corn Bill; the first from DUNFERMLINE, and the second from BIRMINGHAM. I shall first insert them; and then, perhaps, I shall be able to find time to make a remark or two under:

*Dunfermline, Nov. 25, 1833.*

RESPECTED SIR,—In last week's *Register* you say, "Wheat is at this moment cheaper than it was in the year 1792, and as cheap as it had been for ten years previous to that time; and yet there are men mad enough to believe, that this Corn Bill is a 'protection' to the landlord and the farmer."

Admitting the facts as stated in the first part of the sentence, I am yet mad enough, if madness it be, to believe that the Corn Bill is a protection to the landlord; but, to the landlord *only*; not to the farmer; at least, not in the long run.

It matters not, as to this question, what proportion the present English price of wheat bears to the English price of 1792, or any former period: the conclusion must be determined by a comparison of the English, with the *foreign prices of corn at the present time*. At this moment, a sack of flour of 280lbs. in France (to go no farther), costs 31s. English money, while the same weight in England costs 53s.; making a difference of seventy per cent.

Now, as the English farmer receives more for his corn than the French farmer, he will pay more to the landlord than the French farmer; and, as the corn law is the cause of the great inequality of prices in the two countries, it follows that *the corn law is a protection, and a great protection, to the English landlord*.

Were it even found that, in consequence of the higher taxes on the English farmer, the rents in the two countries are not so disproportionate as inferred; say, they were *equal* in both; still this would not materially affect my position: because, in this case, the re-

peal of the corn law would, by equalizing prices in the two countries, cause the English landlord to receive less rent than the French landlord, to the amount of the excess of taxation on the English over that on the French farmer; if, in these circumstances, a corn law should keep English rents equal in amount to French, it would be a protection to the English landlord. In short, *any corn law which raises or keeps up English above foreign markets, is a protection to the English landlord, and a robbery of the English people*.

I am sorry to understand that our best and most esteemed friends, Messrs. Cobbett and Fielden, will not vote for the repeal of the corn laws till the taxes are greatly reduced: and would beseech them to reconsider the subject. It would be best if both were done at once, and at the same time; but, were I told that this could not be effected, I would be glad if either were done; yet, I would prefer the abolition of the landlord's corn tax to that of the Government's malt tax, and others; because the former would be most beneficial to the people; and, because the descendants, heirs, and assignees of the Nimrods and the Normans, would, very soon after this, be necessitated to reduce taxation, for their own sakes, to an immense extent; come what might of the Ministers, Jews, and paper-mongers.

I always, sir, suspect the soundness of my own judgment when it is opposed to yours; but these are my opinions; if they are wrong, I am willing to be corrected. I am,

Respected Sir,  
your obedient servant,  
THOS. MORRISON, SEN.

*Birmingham, 26. Nov. 1833.*

SIR,—In your *Register* of the 23. instant, you say at p. 467, that you "know that the farmers would have been ruined a little sooner if it had not been for the Corn Bill."

Will you have the kindness to explain in your *Register* how the farmers could so have been ruined? Would not the consequent and instant fall of prices



have prevented the passing of Peel's Bill? And if Peel's Bill had never been passed, how could the farmers have been ruined?

Even now you do not consider that if the corn laws should be repealed, the consequent fall of prices would instantly compel a repeal of Peel's Bill; and if so, how could the farmers be injured by the repeal of the corn laws?

If you will have the kindness to explain these subjects, you will very much oblige

AN OLD READER OF THE REGISTER.

On Mr. MORRISON's letter I would first express my surprise, that he cannot perceive that the Corn Bill is no protection to the land at this time, seeing that wheat is come down to the price of 1792, and that the Corn Bill is, nevertheless, in existence. I beg Mr. MORRISON's pardon as to the standard being a comparison with the prices of flour in foreign countries. Every thing is higher priced in England than it is in France; and why should not the farmers and labourers complain that they cannot get their linen from France, and their cloth from France? I can never get an answer to questions of this sort. Why should I not get my materials for making implements of husbandry, and why should not I get my American wagon, without a custom-house duty; and why are English landlords prohibited from cultivating tobacco on their estates? Yet I do not call it "robbery" of the farmers, the labourers, and the landlords, that these taxes are imposed upon them, and that the rest of the community seem very willing that they should pay them.

Mr. MORRISON seems to think, that I do not want the Corn Bill repealed at all. I do want it repealed; but I want the malt tax repealed a great deal more, in which respect I differ very widely from Mr. MORRISON. Whether the Corn Bill do injury to the manufacturers and artizans is a question of considerable difficulty. I allow, that, upon an average of years, it may make bread

a little dearer than it would be without a Corn Bill; but in whatever degree a repeal of the Corn Bill would reduce the price of corn, it would reduce the means of the greatest mass of the people to employ artizans and purchase manufactured goods; and the industrious part of the people actually loses thirteen millions a year by the malt tax.

Mr. MORRISON seems to think that repealing the Corn Bill first, would produce a repeal of the malt tax and other burdens on the land. I would rather not trust to that: I would rather that the *people* should demand a repeal of the burdens on the land, as the groundwork of their demand for the repeal of the Corn Bill.

Mr MORRISON seems to think, that the free importation of corn would affect the agricultural people only in the article of *wheat*. He forgets oats and barley and rye and beans and peas. And would Mr MORRISON think it just to lay a tax of more than a hundred per cent. upon English barley, which is now the case, and yet admit foreign barley without any tax at all upon it? Nor do I comprehend, as coming from a sensible man like Mr MORRISON, all this spite against the landlords. There must be such people as landlords; somebody must own the land; and men are not to be hated and ruined, and hunted down, merely because they own land. If, indeed, he talk to me of their injustice with regard to the game laws; if he talk to me of their partiality and selfishness, in case of the legacy and probate duties and auction duties, I join him with all my heart; if he talk to me about the hateful conduct of those who have driven the inhabitants from their estates in so cruel a manner: if he talk to me of these things, I most heartily join him, and should be very glad if he would send up from Fifeshire, or from any part of Scotland, a member, to join me in my endeavours to put an end to these oppressions. But, I cannot join in the saying or doing of anything against the landlords, merely because they are landlords. My business is to make them just, if I can; and not to do one act of injustice, because other

acts of injustice have been done, particularly when this new act of injustice would be attended with injury to millions, who have not, themselves, been unjust.

There is one point which has wholly escaped the attention of Mr MORRISON; and that is, the striking fact so often mentioned by me; namely, that though wheat is now as cheap as it was in 1792, the four pounds of best bread, which then sold for five-pence half-penny, now sell for eight-pence half-penny. I should like to hear some one attempt to give an answer to this. These advocates for a repeal of the Corn Bill seem to care nothing at all about the price of *bread*. So that the wheat is low-priced; so that the landlords suffer, these public-spirited persons seem to care nothing at all about themselves. One would think that they eat wheat, and not bread; they never trouble their heads about the price of the loaf. Now, it appears to me, that the rational course would be, to inquire how it comes to pass that the bread is so dear, when the wheat is so cheap?

My respect for Mr. MORRISON has induced me to bestow as much room as possible in observations upon his letter. With regard to the letter from BIRMINGHAM, I cannot say that I clearly understand it. I do not see how the Corn Bill, which was passed four years before PEEL's Bill, could have any connexion at all with it. The farmers could not have been saved by the not passing of PEEL's Bill; and PEEL's Bill has done harm to those only who were bound by leases when the bill was passed. The writer of this letter tells me, that the repeal of the Corn Bill would instantly compel a repeal of PEEL's Bill. God forbid it! But, if it were to do it, how would that prevent the farmers from being ruined? It would be a benefit to those who have leases now, and who have nothing due to them; and it would in some measure lighten the burdens of taxation, because the taxes would be paid in a base depreciated paper. But, otherwise, it could not benefit the farmer. If he sold a bushel of wheat for twenty

shillings in paper money, he would have to give the twenty shillings to the blacksmith, for that which he now gets done for five or six shillings.

If you have a mind to see the benefit which farmers derive from a debased paper money, read the reports of the several committees of the legislative assemblies of the United States. There you will see, that it has literally driven the farmers out of their farms, and taken their farms from them, throughout whole districts of that country. Aye, and it has done the same here to a very great extent. These paper-money partizans never think any thing of *taxes*; and that is the great mischief of them: they think that the people can be deluded and cheated along for any length of time; and so this Government thought, till it found itself on the brink of the precipice. These doctors are always ready with their cure: their remedy is perfectly catholic; fitted to all countries, all times, all climes, and all circumstances; but somehow or other, those who put out the paper get rich, and those who borrow it get poor, though the former live in idleness, and the latter toil like horses. The thing explains itself in these results. In short, politically speaking, the "*salvation*," as they call it, of paper money, is as much like "*damnation*" as ever two peas were like one another. As the committee of Assembly of PENNSYLVANIA says, "it is a syren that deludes to destroy."

So far from PEEL's Bill being in itself a mischievous measure, it was a very proper measure, though passed upon opinions so erroneous; but there should have been concomitant measures. There should have been an adjustment with regard to the debt, and with regard to all contracts between man and man, without which, it was an act of pure wickedness, though proceeding from ignorance; for ignorance in statesmen and legislators is wickedness. Yet it cannot be repealed without greater wickedness still.

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## EXTRACTS

FROM

THE FLASH IN THE PAN; or, Peel in a Passion. Containing the Resolution moved by Mr. COBBETT in the House of Commons, on the 16. of April, for an Address to the King to dismiss the Right Hon. Sir ROBERT PEEL from his Majesty's most honourable Privy Council; together with Mr. COBBETT's Speech on making, and Mr. JOHN FIELDEN's Speech on Seconding, the motion; also, Sir ROBERT PEEL's Speech in answer, and Mr. COBBETT's Reply to that Speech; and further, the curious proceeding of the Chancellor of the Exchequer (Lord Viscount ALTHORP) for preventing Mr. COBBETT's Resolution from being entered on the Minutes of the proceedings of the House.

## Resolution proposed by Mr. C. :

RESOLVED: 1. That, according to the laws and customs of this kingdom, the King, our Sovereign Lord, can do no wrong to the whole, to any part, or to any one, of his subjects; that, however, effectually to guard against wrong being in his Majesty's name and under his authority done to his subjects with impunity, the same laws and customs which have, as our birthright, descended to us from our just and wise forefathers, make all and every one, acting in that name and under that authority, fully and really responsible to the good people of this kingdom, for every wrong done unto them by any and every person invested with such authority, and that in virtue of such responsibility, the wrong-doing party is subject to such censures, pains, and penalties, as in virtue of the said laws and customs, the several tribunals of the kingdom have in all ages been wont to inflict; that, if this responsibility were not real and practical, we should be living under not only a despotism, but an avowed despotism, for the King being incapable of wrong-doing, and his servants being responsible merely in name and form, and not in practice, they also could do no wrong, and then the people of this renowned kingdom, the cradle of true liberty, would be the most wretched slaves ever yet heard of under the sun; that, in cases where the wrong-doing is committed by inferior functionaries, or is, in its effects, confined to individuals, or to small numbers of sufferers, the ordinary courts of justice have usually been deemed competent to afford redress to the injured; but that, when the wrong is the act of a Minister of State, sworn to advise the King for the good of his people, when that Minister of State receives as a reward for his fidelity and skill large sums of the people's money, and when the wrong done by him is, in its effects, so deeply and so generally mischievous, as

to send ruin and misery to sweep over the kingdom like the pestilence, then there is, for the purpose of yielding justice to the suffering millions, no power competent but that which is possessed by their faithful representatives assembled in this House.

2. That, in the year 1819, there had long been and then was, in virtue of divers acts of Parliament theretofore passed, a paper money in circulation throughout this kingdom, which paper money was, in effect, a legal tender in payment of all private debts, as well as in the payment of taxes; that this paper-money, descending so low as to notes of one pound, had been the almost only circulating money of the country, from the month of February, 1797, that is to say, for the space of twenty-one years; that this paper money soon became depreciated to so great an extent, that the prices of commodities had, during the said twenty-one years, risen, on an average of years and of commodities, to about double the amount of the prices at which the same commodities were usually sold before the issue of the said legal-tender paper money; that the depreciation of the money was so notorious and so amply avowed in Parliament, that divers acts were passed, during the said twenty-one years, to raise the allowances to the royal family, the salaries of the judges, of the police magistrates, of the army, of the navy, and of almost every one in public employ, for the purpose of counteracting the effect of this very great depreciation; that, during the said twenty-one years next preceding 1819, all mortgages, rent-charges, leases, settlements, annuities, bonds, and other contracts for time, together with all wills and testaments, had been agreed on, settled, and made, on the basis of this depreciated money; and that, during the said twenty-one years, about *five hundred millions of the public debt* had been contracted in the said depreciated paper money; that, therefore, to pass an act compelling the debtor parties to make good these contracts for time, to the very letter, in sterling gold, must be, in fact, an act of confiscation against, and a sentence of ruin pronounced upon, these parties; while, with regard to the people at large, such act must, in reality, nearly double the amount of the public debt, nearly double the amount of all the above-mentioned augmented salaries and public pay, and, of course, nearly double the real amount of the taxes.
3. That, notwithstanding these premises and conclusions, so indubitably true, and so clear to the understanding of every man of common sense, the Right Honourable Robert Peel, then one of his Majesty's most Honourable Privy Council, did, in the said year 1819, bring into the then

House of Commons, and procure to be passed by that House, a bill to put an end to the legal-tender paper-money, which bill, unaccompanied as it was with any measure for the revision and rectifying of private contracts, and for the adjustment of public engagement, was a bill inevitably tending to produce that injustice, that confiscation, and that ruin, hereinbefore described.

4. That this act, which received the royal assent on the 2. July, 1819, though it provided for what was called the gradual resumption of gold-payments, began at once to plunge the whole community into pecuniary confusion; that the prices of all commodities, and of all property, moveable or immoveable, began instantly to fall prodigiously in price; that mortgaged estates were, in thousands upon thousands of instances, taken from the owners and sold, in many cases, for less than the amount of the mortgages; that, in other cases, fixed charges upon estates swallowed up the whole of the rental; while, with regard to leases, bonds, annuities, and other contracts for time, and, above all things, with regard to property dropping in to be disposed of by will, the demon of injustice seemed to have been, by this destructive act, let loose upon the kingdom, setting landlords and tenants, creditors and debtors, brothers and sisters, parents and children, to tear each other to pieces, bringing down hundreds of thousand of families from a state of competence and ease, and many from a state of opulence, to a state of utter ruin and beggary, while all those who were living on the taxes, and who were in fact receiving double pay, were rolling in wealth, and lording it over the rest of the community; and that, of all these dreadful effects of such a measure, the said Right Honourable Robert Peel had been duly warned even before he brought in the said fatal bill.
5. That, by the said act, gold payments were to be completely resumed, and the one-pound notes were to be wholly abolished, in the month of May, 1823; but, that so terrible were the effects of the aforesaid act, such were the ruin and misery that it had produced, that, on the 22. July, 1822, another bill was, by the then advisers of his Majesty (of whom the said Right Honourable Robert Peel was one), brought into the then House of Commons, and was afterwards passed into a law, postponing the abolition of the one-pound notes for eleven years longer; that an important part of the act of 1819 was thus repealed; that an acknowledgment was thus virtually made by an act of the House itself, that it had, principally by the said Right Honourable Robert Peel, been induced to act unwisely, and to do great wrong to the people by the said act of 1819.

6. That, if the act of 1822 had been wise, if it had put a stop to the wrong done and still doing by the act of 1819, it came very tardily, it waited till prodigious ruin had been effected; but, that this act of 1822, while it postponed the abolition of the one-pound notes for eleven years, left the gold-payment part of the act of 1819 in full force; so that, while the issuers of paper money were thus invited and encouraged to inundate the country with one-pound notes, they and the holders of their notes were left exposed to constant, and, first or last, certain ruin; that this ruin (of which the said Right Honourable Robert Peel and his colleagues were duly warned) was not slow in making its appearance; that, towards the close of the year 1825, the bubble, thus created by the law itself, began to burst, and that, before the end of January, 1826, a hundred banks had stopped, not having gold wherewith to pay their notes, the whole kingdom being thereby plunged into alarm and confusion, thousands upon thousands of families (descending to the very artisans and labourers) being brought down to beggary; and, such being the state into which the country had been brought, that the Ministers themselves declared, in Parliament, that at one time, the country had actually been within forty-eight hours of barter, that is to say, destitute of all measure of value, and in a state of utter confusion and anarchy.
7. That with all this sad experience of the effects of his measures, the said Right Hon. Robert Peel (still one of his Majesty's most honourable Privy Council, and then become one of his Majesty's principal Secretaries of State) gave his sanction to a bill (which became an act on the 22. March, 1826) for again abolishing the one-pound notes at the end of three years, notwithstanding the postponement of such abolition, provided for in the act of 1822; that, by this act of 1826, the nation was again plunged back into the low prices, and, in effect, double taxes, produced by the unjust act of 1819; that the ruin and misery of all the industrious classes, and the wealth and luxury of those who live on the taxes, have gone on increasing from that day to this; and that, at this moment, there appears to be no human being able to discover any quiet way of extricating the kingdom from its present state of unparalleled difficulty and danger.
8. That, contemplating these mighty calamities, thus heaped on his Majesty's industrious and dutiful people, and further contemplating the probable danger therefrom to be apprehended to the safety of his Majesty's authority and throne, and clearly tracing a great part of these to the want of knowledge in the Right Hon. Sir Robert Peel, this House, reserving to itself the right of adopting further and other



proceedings in the premises, deems itself bound, in duty to his Majesty, and from an anxious regard to the well-being of his people, not to leave them again exposed to calamities and dangers proceeding from the same source; and that, therefore, this House will present a loyal and dutiful address to his Majesty, praying that his Majesty will be graciously pleased to dismiss the Right Honourable Sir Robert Peel from his Majesty's most honourable Privy Council.

[*The Speaker wished to ascertain from the honourable Member for Oldham, if he had read the paper as a part of his speech; or, whether he considered it in the light of a motion. Because, if a part of his speech, it was unusual in that House to read a speech; and if it were a motion, the hon. Member would address the House, perhaps, in order to show how it could be regularly received. I said, that it was a resolution; that it began with the word "resolved," and then went on without any interruption to the end. Mr. Speaker said that it would be extremely inconvenient to place on the journals elaborate arguments or pamphlets. I said, that though the resolution was certainly long, I had seen much longer moved in that House, and placed on the journals. The House, however, might dispose of the paper as they thought fit; but, in the meanwhile, I would proceed to show that the resolution was founded in justice and in reason. My friends of Oldham, you will see, by-and-by, the curious manner in which the House disposed of this paper, which, by-the-by, will be, by the time that you will receive this, in all the reading places from Aberdeen to the Isle of Wight.*]

### SIR ROBERT PEEL'S SPEECH.

Sir R. PEEL rose amidst the loudest and perhaps most general cheering we have witnessed for some years on a Member rising to exculpate himself. *There were several distinct rounds* before he was permitted to address the House. The right hon. Baronet said, that out of the respect which he entertained for the House before which, as before a tribunal, he was now arraigned, he should treat the charge as if it was brought against him by a man of *great weight and influence*, who felt that he was acting according to his conscientious conviction, and stimulated by an imperative sense of duty, to attempt to visit upon him the highest possible penalty which could be inflicted on a man so honoured as to be admitted to his Majesty's councils. That the hon. Member, however, should have attempt-

ed to pass so severe a censure on him was the more singular, if not altogether unjust, as the hon. Member had not long since acknowledged that on a comparison of what he (Sir R. Peel) had done, with what had been *done by others*, in reference to the currency of the country, he (Sir Robert), *was an angel of spotless purity*. What justice, he would ask, would there be in attempting thus to punish him for that which, in strictness, was, or ought to be, *laid to the charge of Mr. Ricardo, Mr. Huskisson, and others of that day?* but he possibly thought that as they were no more, it would be as just that he should arraign him, because he saw in his place in that House one who had *co-operated* in some degree in the measures of those distinguished men alluded to. Perhaps he thought it was just also to allow himself thus to have arraigned him on such *vague grounds*, whilst the accusation was suffered to hang over his head now for *two months*. (Hear). The sentence he demanded of the House was, that he should be, for these misdeeds relative to the currency, and notwithstanding the *length of time that has since transpired*, dismissed from the councils of his Sovereign, not, as the hon. Member himself admitted, because of any venal or corrupt motive or object, he (Sir R. Peel) had in view, but because he had been chargeable with ignorance. When the hon. Member had been so elaborate in getting up his charges, it was singular and unusual, to say no more, that he should not have had the *fairness to acquaint the accused person* what were the contents of the bill of indictment, and that it should be only now that he was acquainted with the case he was called upon to disprove. He was arraigned by the hon. Member for what it was alleged he had done *as a minister* in the instances so often alluded to of 1819, 1822, and 1826; and the other hon. Member, his colleague, had said, "I will vote against the right hon. Baronet, on account of the answer which he addressed to the memorial of a set of persons collected, forsooth, at the Bull Inn at Burslem." And then he had proceeded to read a letter, written,

as he contended, to a noble Lord (Stanley) as Lord-Lieutenant of the county, and not as an answer to the memorial. This was the offence, then. He had stated truths which they did not want to hear. Indeed, they were not addressed to the persons signing this famed memorial, and it would be rather singular if it were found, on reference to the very letter in question, that it was in reply to a letter from that noble Lord, in his official character, and had been so transmitted to him, to display the wish of Government, and the necessity there was to do every thing possible, at that time, to preserve the peace of the county. He believed such would turn out to be the fact, on inquiry, and if so, what sort of justice was that which introduced the one letter without alluding even to the other to which it was a reply? (Hear, hear). The whole question, and the whole speech, with that of the hon. Seconder, with his twelve columns of prices and wages of labour, was, whether the *House should recede from the measures it had adopted on the currency, after grave deliberation, and an experience of some years.* If so, then why did not the hon. Member bring the subject forward fairly and manfully, and not confine his motion to a *pitiful and sneaking attack* on an individual? (Loud cheers). This would do more to settle that important question, and calm the public anxiety in this respect, by another deliberate decision of the House, than all that could be effected in this indirect way, by the production of *garbled papers*, or of *tables of prices* and columns of wages of labour, with which it had little to do. But the whole charge betrayed *such total ignorance*, and was such a complete *tissue of folly*, that it was not calculated to create in him *any real concern*. The resolution began by stating, "That, according to the laws and customs of this kingdom, the King, our Sovereign Lord, can do no wrong to the whole, to any part, or to any one, of his subjects: that, however, effectually to guard against wrong being in his Majesty's name, and under his authority, done to his subjects with impunity,

"the same laws and customs which have, as our birthright, descended to us from our just and wise forefathers, make all and every one, acting in that name and under that authority, fully and really responsible to the good people of this kingdom for every wrong done unto them by any and every person invested with such authority, and that, in virtue of such responsibility, the wrong-doing party is subject to such censures, pains, and penalties, as, in virtue of the said laws and customs, the several tribunals of the kingdom have, in all ages, been wont to inflict; that if this responsibility were not real and practical, we should be living under not only a despotism, but an avowed despotism, for the King, being incapable of wrong-doing, and his servants being responsible merely in name and form, and not in practice, they also can do no wrong, and then the people of this renowned kingdom, the cradle of true liberty, would be the most wretched slaves ever yet heard of under the sun; that, in cases where the wrong-doing is committed by inferior functionaries, or is, in its effects, confined to individuals, or to small numbers of sufferers, the ordinary courts of justice have usually been deemed competent to afford redress to the injured; but that, when the wrong is the act of a minister of state, sworn to advise the King for the good of his people, when that minister of state receives as a reward for his fidelity and skill large sums of the people's money, &c." The aggravation, the House would observe, of this heinous offence, lay in the person thus described being a minister of state, in the receipt of the public money. Now, be it observed, that in 1819, he was not a minister of state, and, more unhappily for the hon. Member, he was not receiving a farthing of public money. The hon. Member's motion seemed to have for its object the prevention of 5*l.* and 10*l.* notes from being put out of circulation, or as he termed it, being destroyed. If there had been any consistency in the matter, the motion should have been, as he (Sir Robert)



was nothing but a plain member of Parliament, taking the chair in the committee on the currency question, that he should be amenable to Parliament, where he had offended, and be expelled from the House. (Hear). As he had not been charged with any personally corrupt or improper motives for his conduct, he should confine himself strictly to his defence from that with which he was charged, namely, the charge of having deluded that House by a speech which he had made as chairman of that committee. That he should have deluded by a speech that House, which had before it the report of their own committee, in accordance with the bill then introduced, was rather too much to listen to with gravity. (Hear). But the accuser forgot, in his haste to draw up the charge, that *the House of Lords*, which never could have heard this speech, concurred in the measure without any opposition. It was convenient to the honourable Member's argument he should assume that he (Sir Robert) had *brought in the three different bills* of 1819, 1822, and 1826. With the two latter *he had nothing to do*; though he certainly, as the organ of the committee, introduced the first bill, though not then a minister of the Crown. (Hear). The bill of 1819 passed the House without a division; that of 1822 was, as the hon. Member admitted, a repeal of the former bill, and was therefore arraigned as a gross inconsistency by the hon. Member. He could imagine, perhaps, a being so eminently gifted, so clear in forming an opinion, that he was above all chance of ever being deceived or falling into error, and would admit that such a person might challenge to himself the privilege of making use of this infallibility of his as an *argumentum ad hominem* against this change of opinion in him. But he could not but express his surprise when he found he was taunted by the hon. Member for inconsistency, in advocating a measure of redress for an *admitted unforeseen evil*, arising out of, or from, a previous measure of the legislature. If he saw it was proper to make such a concession of a former opinion, he was

prepared to do it again. (Hear). It was too much for poor, short-sighted, circumscribed, erring human beings as we were, to presume to say *we ever saw all the possible consequences* of a great measure, and were prepared never to retract an opinion once given. (Cheers). He quoted an opinion delivered by Mr. Huskisson in the debate in 1822, that the bill, instead of being against, was exactly in accordance with, the report of the committee of 1819, and that, in fact, in the committee, he had wished to introduce a clause expressly providing for a case not unlikely to occur, and that such a clause could not possibly be materially injurious if accompanied by a restriction of an issue of 1*l.* and 2*l.* notes, payable in gold on demand. For himself, he (Sir R. Peel) had thought that they could not admit the circulation of 1*l.* and 2*l.* notes without banishing at length the gold out of circulation, and narrowing the basis of the adjustment of the national standard of value. Those three acts passed, and what was the sense of the House upon them? In the year 1819 there had been no division whatever upon the subject. Upon the bill of 1822 there had been some little discussion, and one division took place. The bill was opposed on the second reading, and on the division *four gentlemen only* voted against it. (Cheers). Upon the bill of 1826 there had been several discussions, and several divisions also upon the details. But upon the division which took place on the third reading, the numbers were—for the third reading, 108; against it, *only nine* (cheers); so that, upon the whole of the divisions which had taken place during all the discussions on the three bills, *only thirteen members* of the House could be found to vote against them. (Loud cheers). And yet he was to be held responsible for *what was thus sanctioned by the House itself!* (Hear, hear). The thing was too absurd for argument. (Cheers). If, however, he had any private account to settle with the hon. Gentleman, he should do so shortly, and in a currency which should certainly not be depreciated. (Loud cheering). The next

charge of the hon. Member was, that this was an act of gross folly committed by him (Sir R. Peel) against the solemn warnings which had been given him by those who foresaw the consequences of the measure. Thus he was charged—first with the impolicy of passing such an act, and then for neglecting the warnings which had been given him. The hon. Member certainly did not put himself forward as the person who had given those warnings, but it was *easily* to *perceive* to whose foresight he alluded. The *object* of the present motion was that of *extolling the hon. Gentleman's own powers of foresight and discrimination*, as much as that of *lowering him* (Sir R. Peel), who had been guilty of the crime of not taking the warnings which had *thus been given*. (Hear, hear). How stood the case? In 1819 he (Sir R. Peel) had been invited upon a committee to consider the best course to be adopted with respect to the currency. Four courses were suggested, one of which was ultimately adopted. The first course proposed was that of agreeing with Mr. Western that paper money might be kept up at its then height, so as to insure war prices and payments according to the existing standard. The second course suggested was that of an actual depreciation of the standard; that paper should be convertible, but that the ounce of gold should represent the 5*l.* or 5*l.* 10*s.* instead of 3*l.* 17*s.* The third was the plan adopted, that of reverting to the old standard. The hon. Member, in alluding to the consequences, *said that he foretold all this*, and that, *therefore, he must be exalted, while he* (Sir R. Peel) *ought to be debased*. (Hear, hear). Now he (Sir R. Peel) would not only vindicate his own conduct—that he had done already—(cheers), but he would also destroy the hon. Member's character as a prophet. (Loud cheering). The hon. Member charged all these misfortunes which had been referred to as the result of the bill of 1819; but surely the hon. Gentleman's memory had failed him, or how, he would ask, could he reconcile the present indictment against him (Sir R. Peel) with his answer to the plan of Mr.

Western? [The right hon. Baronet hear read extracts from the *Register*, containing the answer to Mr. Western, from which it appeared, that the hon. Member at that period contended that the distress of the country *was not attributable to the bill of 1819*, and that it was not in the power of Government *to uphold the paper system*]. (The reading of these extracts was loudly cheered by the House). Here, continued the right hon. Baronet, the hon. Member showed that Government had not the power to uphold the base paper system. The hon. Member also said, that the country was then on the eve of a rebellion, and that it was not the Six Acts that quelled the people, but *low prices*, the result of Peel's Bill. (Much cheering). And he further contended, that the whole system might be at any time puffed out. And the hon. Member did himself try to puff it out; for he had recommended the forging and distribution of Bank paper. (Tremendous cheering). When men who have talent and influence recommend the adoption of such a course, was it not too much that those same men should turn round and threaten him (Sir R. Peel), in that House, with indictments such as the one then before the House? (Cheers). There was a great deal of acute reasoning in the hon. Member's letter to Mr. Western. In fact there was no defence of the bill of 1819 like it. (Cheers and laughter). He stated in that letter, that the *paper system had run its infernal race* (hear, hear); and in the words of Lord Grenville, "It was a bubble, and the bubble had burst." (Cheers). There was yet another proposition, to the effect, that the ounce of gold should be coined into 5*l.* instead of 3*l.* 17*s.* Of all the indignation, and of all the execrations which the hon. Member poured forth against Mr. Western and his plan, they were all absolutely nothing in comparison with the tide of execration which he poured forth on the author of this plan. That person happened to be a Birmingham man. (A laugh). The hon. Member made him a peer, and called him Lord Littlehilling. (Great laughter). So absurd did he conceive



his proposition to be, that he would not reason with him, but whenever he met with it would say, this was a proposition of Lord Littleshilling's. (Renewed laughter). The man, however, whom the hon. Member had held to be wiser than others, was Lord Folkestone. In addressing that noble Lord, however, he says: "Your lordship's project will not succeed; you borrowed from me" (loud laughter) "a sound principle or two, but your application of them is entirely your own, and it is childish beyond description." (Laughter). The hon. Gentleman contended at *that time* that the ancient standard of the country ought to be resumed, and that Parliament ought to reduce forcibly the interest of the debt. He alluded to the writings of the hon. Member because he considered him as a public man, and *responsible in that House for the statements he uttered out of it.* (Mr. Cobbett—"Oh, no!") Oh, yes! (Immense cheering). No man had a right to exercise an influence over the public mind without making himself thus far responsible. (Cheers). The hon. Member had contended that there should be a refusal to pay, at all events, the whole of the national debt. He maintained that too much was paid to the public creditor. Now, in reply, he (Sir R. Peel) would say, that during all the discussions in Parliament, *no one member had come forward with any such proposition*; so that the hon. Member was, like the phoenix of Cowley,

"A vast species alone."

The honourable Member, in another part of his answer to Mr. Western, says, "When you cry out about spoliation you seem to forget those people who *might cry out very justly against the act of 1797.*" Where, he would ask, was the consistency between this and the present motion of the hon. Member? He would now come to what the hon. Member had said about the condition of the labouring classes. The honourable Gentleman read a resolution, agreed to by the magistrates of Hampshire, on this subject; but he ought to have contrasted their condition at present with their condition in the year 1819. Their

condition in 1819, as described by the honourable Gentleman himself, was such that the country had arrived at the point where the poor-rates amounted to 8,000,000*l.*, where the labourers were dripping in rags, dragging carts full of gravel, and where winter subscriptions became indispensable to save them from utter annihilation. The honourable Member had also contended that the reason the people of Preston could not procure sugar, was not because of the over-production of sugar, but because of the under-production of money. The difference between himself and the hon. Gentleman in reality amounted to this, that, in resuming the ancient standard, the hon. Gentleman was of opinion that pensions and debts also should be forthwith reduced. He (Sir Robert Peel) would only say that during all the discussions upon the subject, *no member of Parliament* had the courage, or rather he would say, the *dishonesty*, to propose the reduction of the debt, and yet the hon. Gentleman would attach the whole responsibility to him, and have him removed from the Privy Council. (Hear, hear). He would rather, however, be dismissed from the Privy Council, than have been the introducer of any proposition *so dishonest*, towards the public creditor. If the words he had quoted from the hon. Gentleman, were correct, there was scarcely a shadow of difference between them. With respect to the reduction of sinecures, many of them had been reduced. He admitted that it was right to reduce them as far as possible, but to expect relief to the country from their reduction was sheer nonsense; it would be like a drop of water in the ocean. Still he was ready to reduce all the establishments of the country, not to the standard of any given time, but according to the test of the necessities of the public service and security. The hon. Member had referred to the state of Lancashire as being particularly deserving of attention. He (Sir R. Peel) begged to state, that in 1825 he had sent a gentleman to Blackburn, and to other places in that county, to collect information, and with private

instructions to relieve distress if he should find it requisite to do so, but to say nothing about it; for all individual efforts would have been paralyzed should it become known that an agent of Government was sent to relieve the distressed operatives of the county. He only stated this to show that there was no want of sympathy on his part for the distress of the people, and he denied that in the letter alluded to by the hon. Member, there was a single expression which could imply a want of proper feeling on his part towards their unhappy situation. (Cheers). What could he say in such a letter but that the communication had been received, and should receive the consideration of Government? and yet for this he was to be dismissed from the Privy Council as an example to all public men. (Cheers). What was the real object of the hon. Gentleman in bringing forward this motion for his (Sir Robert Peel's) dismissal? a motion which he would do him the justice of supposing he had no expectation of being able to carry. (Hear, hear). It was true he had said that he expected a large majority on the division (a laugh); but without any disrespect to the honourable Gentleman, he must say that the hon. Gentleman did not really expect any thing of the kind. (Laughter and cheers). So absurd was the motion, that the hon. Member could never expect to carry it after the answer he had received, when first he gave notice of bringing it forward, in the burst of incredulous laughter which escaped from all sides of the House (loud cheers), and which would have penetrated *a skin less pervious than that of the hon. Member*. (Cheers and laughter). He well knew that the House was too just and too wise to select one man to bear the punishment which *ought to fall on a whole Parliament*, out of which only 13 men could be found dissentient to the measure complained of. (Hear, hear). No false delicacy, however, should prevent him from stating the real and *unavowed* object of the present motion. (Much cheers). If he (Sir R. Peel) had taken any other course than that which he had

adopted, could he thereby have escaped the indignation and execration of the hon. Gentleman? If he had agreed with his lamented relative, with whom he had differed upon this subject; if he had bowed to parental opinions—which opinions he should always respect, because they had been held by his lamented relative—still should he not have escaped the lash of the hon. Gentleman. (Hear, hear). He had found amongst the writings of the hon. Gentleman, a letter addressed to Sir Robert Peel, Bart., and *cotton-weaver*. (Hear, hear). There was nothing in all the range of scurrility which disgusted him so much as the attempt to depreciate men because they had raised themselves by their own industry and perseverance. (Loud and continued cheering). When the hon. Member wanted to get into Parliament he did not *disdain the aid of a cotton-weaver*. (Renewed cheering). There was no man, there was no set of men, bound *by such deference to mere rank* as those who set themselves up for *liberals*. (Tremendous cheering). They all wrote as if they were Courtenays or Montmorencies. (Cheers and laughter). But no: if, indeed, they had pertained to that illustrious blood, they would have been too generous to grudge to others the avenues to public fame and honour, which should be open at all times to industry and talent. (Cheers). He knew not in what it was that such feelings could originate, unless, indeed, those persons possessed an inherent *vulgarity of mind* (tremendous cheering, which lasted for a considerable time), which led them in this age, and with these principles, to taunt a man because he had raised himself in society by the exertions of his *honest* industry. (Continued cheering from all parts of the House). So far from conveying feelings of shame to his breast, though he respected hereditary honours, yet he felt equal respect for those new families who had raised themselves into notice by their industry and talents. (Much cheering). He had the misfortune to differ with his father upon this subject. The question came to this—if he agreed with the hon. Gentleman, should he



escape the present motion? He was at no loss to see the tendency of it, for though it was brought forward on public grounds, *it had a latent private object.* (Cheers). In a long letter addressed to Sir Robert Peel, in 1819, the hon. Gentleman went on to say, "Now, Sir Robert, I care little whether you reflect or not, I know well what is coming; and if I put your name at the head of this letter, it is not to reason with you, but to *point you out.*" Here the words, "point him out," were printed in italics. Now what could be his object in this? Most certainly *not a good one.* What could be his object at present? Assuredly it was *not one* which had the *welfare of the people in view.* He (Sir R. Peel) sincerely believed that he *speculated on public confusion.* (Immense cheering from both sides of the House). The intent and object of the motion was to point him (Sir R. Peel) out. (Immense cheers). He did not make this charge upon any light grounds; he did not make it in consequence of the letter written by the hon. Gentleman in 1819. He saw that within the very last month, the hon. Gentleman had publicly avowed certain doctrines which he could not now deny, and with which he now charged him; doctrines of the most disorganizing and destructive tendency. (The right hon. Baronet here read an extract from *Cobbett's Register*, dated the 6. April, 1833, in which it was recommended to the people to form defensive associations. They were desired to obtain information respecting all those who paid taxes, to ascertain the name and residence of all landowners, when each came to his estate, and how, whether by heirship or purchase, and what was at the present time its probable value). From this, continued the right hon. Baronet, the House would see, that a man who talked of liberty, and the rights of the people, was the first to recommend to the people a system of the most abominable tyranny that had ever existed. This extract as read in continuation, recommended that there should be a printed pedigree of all the great landholders, and also a statement, showing

the amount of public money received by them, together with the cause that produced the number of paupers found in the neighbourhood of each individual of those to whom the recommendation was addressed. It concluded with these words: "For so we may all know each other well. This is the sort of commission that is wanted, and I would call it the *reckoning commission*, for we should make up our accounts. When we all know each other well, we can arrange quickly, and come to an equitable adjustment." He (Sir Robert Peel) would ask, where would be the courage, where the justice, where the equity, of urging men on to that state of desperation which must necessarily result from the adoption of such counsel? It was quite evident that the hon. Gentleman had no other object in the course he now pursued than that which led him in 1819, not only to reason with, *but point out*, Sir Robert Peel. But surely, for his own part, he might fairly expect to escape from being *pointed out* by him, if he would look for justice at his hands. The hon. Gentleman could have none of those motives for attacking him which made him attack others. He (Sir R. Peel) had never lent him his confidence; from him (Sir R. Peel) he had never received an obligation. (Repeated cheers). One of his views might be, perhaps, *to induce an indication of fear* on the part of his *intended victims*; but he would tell the gentlemen of England that their only security was boldly to face and *defy his insidious efforts.* God forbid that his *speculation on the prospect of confusion* should ever be realized. (Great cheering). He felt convinced that whatever political differences might exist between *public men*, that all those who were possessed of property would unite in *defending it.* (Great cheers). To pursue a different course would be not only in itself the greatest calamity that could befall the country, but a calamity of two-fold aggravation, as accompanied with the *disgrace of living under the intimidation of such instruments as those made use of by the hon. Gentleman* who brought the present motion before the

House. (Long and loud cheering). "Believing," concluded the right hon. Baronet, "when I read these comments, that I am *selected* perhaps, for the purpose of producing some abatement in our opposition to intimidation, or some submission to those who threaten us, never will I have to reproach myself with furthering either object by showing any symptoms of intimidation or submission." The right hon. Baronet then sat down amidst cheers, which lasted for several minutes.

[Thus stands the speech of PEEL, as given in the MORNING HERALD, which is a very full report; but the reporter left out a bombastical poetical quotation, which the *Times* reporter inserted, and which I will insert here; so that I may leave no ground whatever for a charge of having omitted any part of this speech.]

Close of Sir Robert Peel's speech as given in the *Times* newspaper:

One of these motives or objects might be to produce some indications of fear on the part of the intended victims; but he told the gentlemen of England that their best security was in boldly facing and defying these insidious efforts. (Cheers). God forbid that the hon. Member's speculations on the prospect of "public confusion" should be realized. He laboured under no apprehension that they would. He felt confident, whatever might be the political differences that divided public men, that all who were possessed of property would unite in its defence, and put down such attempts. (Great cheering). Not only would it be the greatest calamity, but a calamity tenfold greater than had ever happened to this country, because accompanied by the greatest disgrace, to live under the domination of such instruments as these. (General and long-continued cheering).

"Come the eleventh plague, rather than this should be;  
 "Come sink us rather in the sea.  
 "Come rather pestilence, and reap us down;  
 "Come God's sword rather than our own.  
 "Let rather Roman come again,  
 "Or Saxon, Norman, or the Dane;  
 "In all the bonds we ever bore,  
 "We grieved, we sighed, we wept; we never blushed before."

But (continued the right hon. Baronet) blush we shall, and must, if we submit to this domination; and I for one, believing as I do, when I read these comments of the hon. Member and consider his present motion, that I have

been selected as an object of attack either for the purpose of producing some abatement of resistance to intimidation, or with a view to induce submission to those who threaten us, —I, for one, never shall have to reproach myself with having furthered the ulterior objects of the party in question, by showing any symptoms of intimidation or submission. (General cheering, which continued for several minutes).

Mr. COBBETT, in rising to reply, was received with the strongest manifestations of disapprobation from both sides of the House. The hon. Member said that more calumnious insinuations and more groundless charges than those brought against him on the present occasion had never been heard within the walls of Parliament. (Shouts of dissent). If order was not observed while vindicating himself, he would move the adjournment of the House. (Oh, oh, oh). If the House felt mortified in hearing him, they ought to feel still more mortification at having swallowed their own words on the 30. of April, in reference to the malt tax. If they did not listen to him while he answered the speech of the right hon. Baronet, they would stand before the world in a light which he would not attempt to describe. (Here the shouting increased to the utmost pitch of vehemence). If this interruption was continued, he must pronounce this to be the most unjust assembly ever known. Nine-tenths of the right hon. Baronet's defence consisted of extracts read from books which were written by him (Mr. Cobbett), and the rest was made up of *vulgar abuse*. (Here there were cries of interruption, which nothing could exceed).

Mr. Cobbett's attempt at reply as given in the *Times* newspaper.

Mr. COBBETT rose to reply amidst groans and murmurs from all parts of the House, during the continuance of which, throughout the hon. Member's address, little or nothing of what he said could be heard in the gallery. He observed that the House had listened to most calumnious insinuations. (Peals of groans). If he could not obtain a hearing he should move an adjourn-



ment. (Laughter and groans repeated). The House might feel mortification in hearing him, but it ought to have experienced greater mortification in eating its own words on the malt tax. (Oh, oh!). If the House would not hear him in reply to some parts of the speech of the right hon. Baronet, it would stand in a light which he did not wish to describe. (Murmurs, groans, and hootings). If he experienced interruptions such as these, he must describe the House as the most unjust assembly in the world. (Oh, oh, oh!). The right hon. Baronet's speech contained no defence of his currency measures, it was made up, nine-tenths of it, of garbled extracts, unfairly taken from his (Mr. Cobbett's) books, and of vulgar abuse. (Groans, and loud cries of Order).

[Before I proceed to give my *answer* to the speech of PEEL, I will insert an account of the remainder of the proceedings, which were (with one little correction to be made) as follows]:

The SPEAKER interposed to order, and said the hon. Member had uttered language which no gentleman was entitled to use, and for which he was bound to apologize.

MR. COBBETT: Sir, I most readily apologize to the House. (Groans). If the noble Lord (the Chancellor of the Exchequer) would only take off the malt tax, the house and window taxes, and the taxes on soap, he might set at nought all speculation in public confusion. (Continued groans). But, Sir, I would much rather see public confusion than see the people trampled upon and knocked on the head, as they have been within the last few days.

Here the hon. Member abruptly resumed his seat, finding it impossible to proceed any further.

At this moment Sir ROBERT PEEL left the House, and on advancing towards the door was loudly cheered.

Several hon. Members next endeavoured to obtain a hearing, but none of them could succeed, so great was the impatience for the question.

The House then divided, and the numbers were,

For the motion ..... 6  
Against it ..... 298

The announcement of the numbers was received with three distinct rounds of cheers.

The following are the names of the minority: Messrs. Cobbett, Fielden, Thomas Attwood, Patrick Lalor, James Roe, and John O'Connell.

As we entered the gallery, we found the CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER addressing the House as follows: I am *not aware of any precedent* for the course which I am now about to call upon the House to pursue. But never in my memory, or within my knowledge, has a personal attack been made within these walls upon such grounds, or supported like the present. I feel therefore, that it is unnecessary to detain the House, being confident that the feelings of every hon. Gentleman will respond to my own, and agree to this proposition, "That the resolutions which have been moved be *not entered* on the minutes." (Great cheering).

The SPEAKER put the question, "That the proceedings be *expunged*."

MR. COBBETT: The noble Lord had moved that the resolution be *not entered* on the minutes of the proceedings of the House. That, however, was not the way in which the Speaker had put the question.

The SPEAKER: I will explain why I put the question in the terms in which I did. The minutes of the proceedings are going on during the debate, and the motion of the noble Lord being that the motion of the hon. Member should *not be continued* on the proceedings, the only way to effect that object was to expunge it. (Hear).

MR. COBBETT: *Expunging* a resolution, and *not putting it on the proceedings*, are two different things. The noble Lord's motion is "that it be *not entered* on the minutes;" and that is the proper motion to be put from the chair.

The SPEAKER: I am unfortunate in not making myself understood. There is nothing which any member moves in this House which (whatever may be the opinion of the House) does not, the moment it is moved and seconded, go upon the clerk's books. The question for the House to decide—what it owes to itself and to the public—is to consider whether, according to the merits and justice of the case, it will suffer it to remain on the books. (Hear, hear).

MR. COBBETT: But, still, *that is not the motion* now before the House. The motion for *expunging* is not the motion of the noble Lord; but, in reality, the motion of Mr. Speaker. I observed, at the outset, that I supposed that a motion would be made to expunge these proceedings, but if they be *not entered* on the minutes of the House, that is quite a novel proceeding. Many things have already been done by this Parliament to *overset* former usages. (Question, question). If the cries of question are continued I shall move the adjournment of the House. (A laugh). If the House, by an order, prevent this resolution from being entered on the minutes, then there are but two things remaining for Ministers to do—first, to let no man speak in this House

without their permission, and next to move that the gallery be closed. (A laugh).

Mr. LALOR hoped that the House would indulge him whilst he stated his reasons for having been one of the very small minority on this question. He was not actuated by any personal hostility to the hon. Baronet. It was on public grounds only that he had ventured to be one of the minority.

The hon. Member was here called to order by an hon. Member whose name we did not hear.

Mr. LALOR thought he was speaking to the question, and proceeded to state that he considered the conduct of the right hon. Baronet injurious to the interests of the public.

Mr. J. FIELDEN was wholly indifferent as to what the House might do, but he would state as his *opinion*, that it would *not be wise*, on the part of the Government, to press the motion.

The Speaker then put the question, "that the proceedings on this resolution be *expunged from the minutes*."

The House then divided—

For the motion ..... 295

Against it..... 6

The following voted against this motion :—  
Messrs. Cobbett, Fielden, Thomas Attwood, Patrick Lalor, James Roe, and Fergus O'Connor.

The little error in this report was this. It would appear from the report, that the Speaker called me to order, and that I apologized for having described Sir ROBERT PEEL's speech as made up of "*vulgar abuse*;" but, I said of "*vulgar abuse and falsehood*." This last word, however true my assertion might be, is, I believe, one that is not allowed to be made use of in a similar manner. Besides, nothing so easy as to apologize; and nothing so stupid as not to do it, if the Speaker desire you to do it. It is sheer bad temper alone that can induce a man to get into petty squabbles of this sort. With this trifling exception, the whole of the account is perfectly correct; and it is extremely well worthy of the attention of the whole country, and particularly of our constituents of OLDHAM. From it they will be able to judge what it is that we have to contend with. I will make no remark upon this strange proceeding of Lord ALTHORP, other than this, that it puzzles one to death to imagine what *end* he could think would be answered by it; what *object* he could possibly have in view. The resolution had been read to the House. The

speech by which it had been supported had been heard by the House; he must have been sure that the contents of a paper so interesting to the whole country, could not possibly be kept from the eyes of the whole nation; he had heard the defence of the right hon. Baronet; he had heard that the resolution remained absolutely without a word in the way of answer; he must have perceived that the resolution remained an acknowledged truth, from the beginning to the end, as far as facts and reasoning were concerned; what then, in God's name, could induce him to do what he did, while he acknowledged, too, that that which he did WAS WITHOUT A PRECEDENT! What was the inevitable conclusion that the nation and the world must draw from this proceeding? The usual course would have been to suffer the whole proceeding, resolution and all, to go upon the minutes of the House, where it would have been found recorded, that only *six* members voted for the resolution, while *two hundred and ninety-eight* voted against it; and then to give notice of a motion for expunging the resolution from the records of the House. This is what was done in the case of Lord COCHRANE's resolutions against the conduct of Lord ELLENBOROUGH. As to the effect, however, upon the nation, this proceeding has been, and will be, precisely the contrary to that which, I think, was wished for. The resolution was full of importance as to its matter; but this proceeding of Lord ALTHORP has prodigiously added to its importance and its interest. Every one will see, that the resolution contained not one single expression that was either indecorous or harsh: every one is satisfied that it is truth from the beginning to the end; and, therefore, every one will ask, why this *unprecedented* proceeding; why was the *Minister* so anxious to keep this paper from the eyes, even of the members of the House? At any rate, within my recollection, no paper of the sort has ever had an equally extensive circulation. It is gone to the farthest corner of the civilized world; and there is no more the power of recalling it



than there is the power of recalling yesterday.

### MY REPLY TO SIR ROBERT PEEL'S SPEECH.

1. The grounds upon which I proceeded, he said, were *vague*. Certainly the **RESOLUTION** itself was anything but *vague*; and, as to the notice of the motion, the object was most explicitly stated, and the grounds were stated to be, his conduct relative to the currency bills of 1819, 1822, and 1826. Nothing, therefore, could be less *vague*. He next complained, that I had not made him previously acquainted with the contents of the **RESOLUTION**. I had no wish to keep the contents from him: the resolution lay on the table several evenings for anybody to look at that would; and, one evening, when the discussion of the question was put off, I put the resolution into the hand of one of his own friends, who usually sits, and was then sitting at his back: or, at the back of the place where he usually sits. If I had communicated the paper to him beforehand, had I any assurance that he would deem it an act of civility, and that he would not deem it an insult? On the other hand, there was nothing new in the resolution; no fact stated, which was not well known to all the world; and, therefore, there was no necessity whatever for making any communication, the want of which was complained of.

2. But, that which the public look for, is an **ANSWER** to my allegations. They do not care a straw about the personalities: they perceive that I dealt in none. They see in my **RESOLUTION** a statement of facts, of very deep interest to the whole kingdom: they see great calamities described; they know that these calamities have existed and do still exist; they see them ascribed, in great part, without any asperity, to a certain person; and they look for that person's answer to this charge; and in that answer they expect to find: **FIRST**, a denial that the calamities have been produced at all; or, **SECOND**, that these calamities were not caused by the mea-

asures of the accused party; or, **THIRD**, that the calamities could not have been foreseen by any human being; or, **FOURTH**, that, though the calamities have arisen, though they proceeded from the measures of the person accused, and though they might have been foreseen, still the calamities which would naturally have arisen from the want of adopting the said measures, would have been as great, or greater, than those produced by the measures themselves; or, **FIFTH**, a denial that *he was responsible* for the measures which produced the calamities. These are the things which this sensible and impartial public would naturally look for in this case; and of these things they find none in the speech of the right hon. Baronet, which, as I said before, contains no answer at all.

3. As to the **FIRST**; they find no denial of any part of the monstrous mischiefs ascribed to the bills; they find not a word said in way of answer, either to the resolution or to the speech. Indeed, denial was impossible in the face of so many men, a great part of whom had either been witnesses, or themselves partakers, of the sorrows arising from these measures. With regard to the **SECOND** also, no attempt was made at denial. Every one that heard me knew that the calamities were caused by the measures in question. Besides, by his speech I had blocked him up here; I had proved, beyond all question, that the calamities were caused by the measures of 1819, 1822, and 1826, and I had stripped him of all pretence for setting up a justification upon the ground that similar calamities had taken place before the bill of 1819. With regard to the **THIRD**, I had deprived him of all defence; by showing, that it was possible to foresee the fatal consequences of his measures; for that these consequences were clearly foreseen and pointed out to him, before he brought in his bill, by the two Messrs. ATTWOOD, by the present Secretary at War, and by the Bank directors themselves. Upon this score he was sadly put to his shifts: he beat about for something to say; and that which he did say was anything short of something amounting to a de-

fence. He told the House, "that though I did not positively *put myself* forward as the warner, it was *easy to perceive* to whose foresight I alluded; and that it was evident, that the real object of the present motion was to extol my own powers of foresight, and to lower him; that I said, that I foretold all this, and that, therefore, I must be exalted and he debased." All this was cheered in a manner quite indescribable; but, let the reader look soberly at it; let him read my speech in any of the newspapers: he will find not the most distant allusion to any foresight of mine. From the beginning to the end of my speech, there was not one single word which could be interpreted into a desire to cause people even to recollect what I myself had said upon the subject. I distinctly named those by whom he had been warned, taking special care not to put myself, even by implication, amongst his warners. So that this accusation against me was so manifestly unjust, and so evidently resorted to, in order to *ride off* from the statement, which could not be answered, that, though actually engaged in cheering, the cheering parties must have seen through the thing very clearly, while the sober public cannot fail to draw from it the proper conclusion. In short, it was proved that others could foresee the calamities; and that the conclusion was that, if he did not foresee them (which it was allowed that he did not), his not having foreseen them arose from a want of knowledge. As to the FOURTH, namely, "that other calamities would naturally have arisen from the want of adopting the said measures, which would have been as great, or greater than those produced by the measures themselves." To prove this, he uttered not one single word; but merely said, "that no member of Parliament pointed out any other cause; that no one member ever came forward with any proposition for that '*equitable adjustment*' of which I had been the proposer; that I, indeed, had proposed to reduce the interest of the debt; but that no member of Parlia-

ment had had the dishonesty to make the proposition." This was extremely well calculated to draw forth peals of cheering, in the doing of which it did not fail of success; but, the sober public will perceive, that I had said nothing about this matter even in my resolution or my speech, as having proceeded from me. I had quoted one out of a thousand petitions or more, presented to the House of Commons in 1817, to show that there were a million and a half of reformers who prayed for such a just settlement, but not one single word had I said about any such proposition ever having been made by me. "Aye," said he, "but you have *written books*" [and he produced two or three upon the table]; "and that I was responsible in that House for the statements that I made out of it;" and upon his saying this, the House cheered him to the skies. I by no means denied the justice and fitness of an equitable adjustment; but I gave the merit of the proposition to the million and a half of reformers of 1817. Under this head, too, there was, in fact, no defence, and no attempt at defence; he said not a syllable to show that the calamities might not have been avoided, and that a return to the ancient standard might not have taken place at the same time. With regard to the FIFTH head, namely, "a denial that *he was responsible* for the measures which produced the calamities," what did he say? Good God! what did he say? *First*, he pleaded the *length of time* which had elapsed since 1819; *second*, he pleaded that he had been falsely accused of having been a *minister* in 1819; *third*, that he had nothing to do with the bills of 1822 and 1826, though I had chosen to represent him as having brought in all these three bills. As to the *first*, it is the excuse of a child; for, what has length of time to do with the matter, even if the evils were no longer felt; but the contrary is the fact; the length of time is only from 1826 to the present day; and the evil of the bill is still working on in its ruinous course. And as to his having been represented as a minister when he brought in the bill of 1819, a bare look



at the third paragraph of the RESOLUTION will show you that he was not so represented. In the other two cases he is represented as having been a minister at the time; but he is not represented as having brought in the three bills; but, on the contrary, as having brought in only the bill of 1819.

4. But the great lever by which he endeavoured to shift off the responsibility, was, endeavouring to show that others shared in the act; that is to say, shared in the want of knowledge. He said, that I endeavoured, "thus to punish him for that which ought to be laid to the charge of Mr. Ricardo, Mr. Huskisson, and others of that day; but that I arraigned him, because these were no more, and because he was in his place in the House, and because he had co-operated, in some degree, in the measures of those distinguished men!" Good God! Ricardo never was a minister nor a privy-councillor: HUSKISSON (if in office at the time) never meddled with the bill of 1819; so that there was no shelter here. Perceiving that people looked queer at the producing of this sort of shield, he next appealed to the frailty of human nature, especially upon the score of the bill of 1822. He said, "it was too much for poor, short-sighted, circumscribed, erring human beings, to presume to say that we ever foresaw all the possible consequences of a great measure." Here he quoted HUSKISSON, in his defence of the bill of 1822, which produced the panic of 1826; and then he hastened on to the broad shelter of the Parliament; told his delighted and cheering hearers, "that both Houses of Parliament had agreed to the measures; and that, from the first to the last, there never were found but thirteen members of the House of Commons to vote against any or all of these bills: and yet that the monstrous absurdity was proposed to the House to make him responsible for these bills."

5. Now, such was his defence; such was his answer to me and my RESOLUTION; such was his defence of measures which have finally shaken this

kingdom to its very foundations; which have disturbed the formerly quiet possession of all property; which have stirred up questions relative to the church and its possessions, including abbey-land possessions; which questions never would have been otherwise agitated; which have stirred up questions and angry discussions relative to the rights of the aristocracy and those of the people; which have thrown the whole country into a sort of commotion, and have made men, who never before wished for change, now wish for a change of almost any sort. If a return to the ancient standard of the country had been accompanied with measures to prevent wrong from being thereby done, the church would have remained unassailed; and, an attention to residence and a gradual abolition of pluralities might have insured its tranquil existence for ages. The abbey-lands, which are actually now looked to by the nation as a resource, would have been a subject as little understood by the people at large as the longitude is by those who have endeavoured to discover it. The origin of tithes, their ancient distribution, the origin of the poor-laws, the rights of the poor, the extent and value of the crown-lands, the remedy of emigration; the "evil of premature marriages," the necessity of a half-military police; all these were things which not one man out of twenty thousand ever talked of, or ever dreamed of, before the passing of the bill of 1819; and, now, they are as familiar in men's mouths, as the words "leg of mutton" or "pot of beer." So that this bill of 1819, has been the great disturber of the country from that day to this; and, so far from the consequences of that bill having ceased, they are only now beginning to come into active and efficient operation. The effects of this destructive bill are felt by the Ministers at every turn. In no direction can they look without this hand-writing on the wall staring them in the face. We struggle for the reduction of taxes: I myself plead and vote for such reduction. But, I know, and every man of sense must see, that they can do

nothing in the way of reduction, without correcting the errors of the bill of 1819; that they can do nothing in this way to restore this troubled kingdom to peace, unless they have the courage to resort to such correction. As members of the House of Commons, it is our first duty to endeavour to lighten the burdens of our over-burdened constituents; but, I should deem it scandalous injustice in me, not to declare, at the same time, that I believe, that all that they now receive from the people it is necessary to put into their hands, unless we go back and do that justice which was demanded at the time of the passing of the bill of 1819. As long as they refuse to do that, we are justified in taking the money from them whenever we can; but, if they were to express their readiness to do that; if we were to refuse them our cordial support in so doing, and were still to bait them upon the score of their expenditure, and upon the weight of the taxes, we should be six hundred and fifty-eight of the most unjust men that were ever met together upon the face of the earth.

6. Now, with regard to Sir ROBERT PEEL's personalities against me, the extracts which he read from my works relative to Mr. WESTERN's proposition he garbled at his pleasure; his appellation of "pitiful, sneaking attack" applied to the open and manly proceeding of my honourable colleague; his observation on the "imperviousness of my skin;" his broad allusion to calumnies against me ten thousand times refuted; his charge of "*vulgarity of mind*" evinced in my "*adulation of men of high birth*," and his judgment evinced in going back to an essay of mine ridiculing the pomposity of his cotton-bred father; his bombastical conclusion, imputing to me designs of profiting from public confusion, and of having singled him out upon this occasion in order to check the power which he might have in checking me in my projects; his calling upon the gentlemen of England to unite against me and to defy me, *me*, whom he had, in the first sentence of his speech, described as a person destitute of weight and in-

fluence; his "beseeching the gentlemen of England not to submit to my domination, nor encourage me in my progress by yielding to intimidation;" his calling upon them, and upon all "men of property, to forget their political differences, and thus to unite:" we have here such a mixture of littleness, of childishness, of bombastical rage, and of every thing inconsistent with the character of a man who calls himself a statesman, that we cease to wonder, that from such a mind should have sprung even the bill of 1819.

7. I should stop here; but there is one passage in this passionate spitting forth of personal abuse, which it will be of importance for us to bear in mind. It was this:

"That the difference between himself and the hon. Gentleman amounted in reality to this; that in resuming the ancient standard, the hon. Gentleman was of opinion that pensions and debts also should be forthwith reduced. He (Sir R. Peel) would only say, that during all the discussions upon the subject, no member of Parliament had the courage, or rather, he would say, the *dishonesty* to propose the reduction of the debt; and yet the hon. Gentleman would attach the whole responsibility to him, and have him removed from the Privy Council. (A great cheering here). He would rather, however, be dismissed from the Privy Council, than be the introducer of any proposition so *dishonest* towards the public creditor." Now, these words will be to be remembered. These words are of more importance than all the rest of his speech. We are to be answerable in the House for that which we write and publish out of the House. Sir JAMES GRAHAM has written and published out of the House, a proposition to deduct *thirty per cent.* from the fundholders; which was unjust, only because it was unaccompanied with a proposition to take away sinecures, pensions, and emoluments, and to reduce salaries. Lord GREY has several times distinctly declared that we are paying the fundholders a great deal too much; and he has never been in two stories



upon this subject. Let the right hon. Baronet settle this question of "*dishonesty*" with Sir JAMES GRAHAM, then, and with my Lord GREY, and especially with the former. Instead of making bombastical orations about my designs to "*profit from confusion*," let him show these Ministers how they are to get along while two more summer suns roll over their heads, without doing that very thing which he, in the indulgence of his passion and his spite, would have the world believe, that it arose from "*dishonesty*" in me ever to have proposed. Above all things, let him convince Sir JAMES GRAHAM that he did not mean to accuse *him* of dishonest intention, though he, as a great land-proprietor, must have experienced great pecuniary relief from the adoption of the proposition, and though I could not possibly have derived from it any, even the smallest, possible benefit.

8. Thus I close these remarks, which never would have been made, *if I had been heard in reply*; and thus it is, that attempts to do that which is unfair, generally, in the end, produces effects precisely the contrary of those which such unfairness is intended to produce. These remarks are much fuller, and much more efficient than would have been any that I could have made upon the spur of the moment. They will also be placed upon record in a manner to give them greater durability, and to render them more easily referred to. In this case, as in thousands and thousands of others, the attempt to stifle only brings forth the thing attempted to be stifled, in a way much more formidable than that in which it would have been brought forth if no such attempt had been made; and, thus it is, that a "*flash in the pan*" has become a discharge of a load, jammed in up to the muzzle.

## HISTORY OF GEORGE THE FOURTH.

THE eleventh number, price *sixpence*, just published, containing CHAPTER V., relating to the return of NAPOLEON from

Elba: flight of the Bourbons to GHENT: battle of Waterloo: surrender of NAPOLEON, in 1815; his imprisonment at St. HELENA; consequences of these events; peace with France of 1815.

The other numbers will be published successively without any intermission; and the whole will be most likely completed in the course of a year. Gentlemen may have whole sets of the numbers as far as they have gone; and, for the present, any back numbers to fill up gaps in their sets; but, probably this cannot be the case long.

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### From the LONDON GAZETTE,

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 22, 1833.

#### INSOLVENT.

MOSES, M., Ilkeston, Derbyshire, tallow-chandler.

#### BANKRUPTCY SUPERSEDED.

DANDY, G., Tarleton, Lancashire, corn-dealer.

#### BANKRUPTS.

CROGGON, W. R., Bartholomew-lane, auctioneer.

CUSSELL, E., sen., Croydon and Reigate, dealer in coals.

DANGER, G., Road, Somersetshire, maltster.

HARGRAVES, T., jun., Wakefield, Yorkshire, money-scrivener.

HOOKE, J., Cannonbury-square, Islington, and Lloyd's Coffee-house, insurance-broker.

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TUESDAY, Nov. 26, 1833.

#### INSOLVENT.

JAMES, H., Star-street, Edgeware-road baker.

#### BANKRUPTS.

ATHERTON, W., Tacna, Peru, merchant.

ATKINS, J. O., Cecil-street, Strand, boarding-house-keeper.

BETTS, J., Winchester, cabinet-maker.

BRISBAND, H., Birmingham, pearl button-manufacturer.

GRUNDY, J. and S., Kirkby Lonsdale, Westmoreland, blanket-manufacturers.

LANCASTER, T. J., Cateaton-street, merchant.

LOCKYER, C., Strood, Kent, linen-draper.

MORSE, S., Kingston-upon-Thames, grocer.

OVEN, J., Dover-street, Piccadilly, tailor.

SANT, W., Adelphi-wharf, Westminster, and Orme-square, Bayswater, coal-merchant.  
 SAYRE, J., High-street, Shadwell, and Broadway, Deptford, cheesemonger,  
 SMITH, W., Sheffield, builder.  
 SPEARMAN, B., Birmingham, grocer.  
 STEVENSON, S., Ramsgate, linen-draper.  
 STRINGER, E., Poplar, publican.

## LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, NOV. 25.—Owing principally to the prevalence of contrary winds, the supplies of all kinds of grain fresh up to this morning's market were extremely limited; though we know of several cargoes on their passage. The better descriptions of Wheat fully supported the currency of this day week, and other descriptions moved off more freely at their reduced rates. The trade, however, assumed altogether a firmer tone, and prices seemed to have made a stand, and we must have now reached their *minimum* point. Old Wheat sustained no alteration, and in bonded corn we heard of no transactions.

Chevalier qualities of Barley, as well as best Norfolk and Suffolk samples, supported last week's quotations, but all intermediate qualities were dull and 1s. lower than this day se'nnight, as was also the case with grinding Barley.

Malt continued in a very dull inanimate state.

Oats coming to hand very sparingly, were quite as dear as last Monday. The demand, however, was moderate, as the principal dealers are anticipating additional supplies.

Beans in rather limited request, and prices dull.

White Peas met a fair demand at former terms, and Grey and Maple were 1s. per qr. dearer.

Flour extremely dull, and the lower marks, ex-ship, are offering at very low prices, say 37s. The top quotations of the town made article may be reckoned at 48s.

Wheat .....	52s. to 62s.
Rye .....	30s. to 36s.
Barley .....	24s. to 27s.
— fine .....	30s. to 35s.
Peas, White .....	—s. to —s.
— Boilers .....	42s. to 45s.
— Grey .....	33s. to 35s.
Beans, Small .....	—s. to —s.
— Tick .....	30s. to 33s.
Oats, Potato .....	25s. to 26s.
— Feed .....	19s. to 23s.
Flour, per sack .....	48s. to 50s.

## PROVISIONS.

Pork, India, new .... 90s. to 95s.  
 — Mess, new ... 56s. to 62s. per barl.

Butter, Belfast .....	82s. to 84s. per cwt.
— Carlow .....	80s. to 86s.
— Cork .....	—s. to —s.
— Limerick .....	76s. to 77s.
— Waterford .....	74s. to 77s.
— Dublin .....	70s. to 72s.

SMITHFIELD, November 25.

This day's supply of Beasts was sufficiently numerous, but, though superior to that of several weeks past, in great part of middling and inferior quality; its supply of Mutton, Veal, and Pork but limited.—Trade was, throughout, somewhat brisk. With Beef at an advance of 2d.; Mutton and Veal, 2d. to 4d. per stone; with Pork at Friday's quotations.

Full four-fifths of the Beasts appeared to consist of about equal numbers of short-horns, Herefords, Devons, and Welsh runts; the remaining fifth of about equal numbers of Scots and Irish Beasts, about fifty Sussex Beasts, about as many Town's-end Cows, a few Staffords, &c. The short-horns, Devons, and runts, with some of the Herefords and Irish Beasts, chiefly (say about 2,300 of them) from Lincolnshire, Leicestershire, and the rest of our northern grazing districts; about 200, for the most part Herefords and Devons, with some runts, from our western and mid-land districts; most of the Scots, with a few Devons and runts, from Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, and Cambridgeshire; the Sussex Beasts, with some runts and Devons, from Kent, Sussex, and Surrey; and most of the remainder, including the Town's-end Cows, from the London marshes.

Full three-fourths of the Sheep appeared to be new Leicesters, of the South Down and white-faced crosses, in the proportion of about one of the former to two of the latter; about an eighth South Downs, and the remaining eighth about equal numbers of Kents, Kentish half-breds, and old Leicesters, with a few pens of horned and polled Norfolks, horned Dorsets, horned and polled Scotch and Welsh Sheep, &c.

MARK-LANE.—Friday, Nov. 29.

The arrivals this week are good. The market dull, and the prices rather lower than on Monday.

## THE FUNDS.

3 per Cent.	}	Fri.	Sat.	Mon.	Tues.	Wed.	Thur.
Cons. Ann.		87½	87½	88	88	88	88



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This I have written by way of

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such a thing having been frequently suggested to me by Teachers as necessary.

1. ENGLISH GRAMMAR.—Of this work sixty thousand copies have now been published. This is a duodecimo volume, and the price is 3s. bound in boards.

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